

# Journal of Public Management & Social Policy

Volume 21 | Number 1

Article 4

June 2015

## Extractive Sector Policymaking and Governance in Ghana: A Study of the Role, Knowledge and Capacity Challenges of Civil Society Organizations

Emmanuel K. Sakyi  
*University of Ghana*

Emmanuel O. Oritsejafor  
*North Carolina Central University*

Follow this and additional works at: <http://digitalscholarship.tsu.edu/jpmsp>



Part of the [Political Science Commons](#), [Public Affairs](#), [Public Policy and Public Administration Commons](#), and the [Urban Studies and Planning Commons](#)

### Recommended Citation

Sakyi, Emmanuel K. and Oritsejafor, Emmanuel O. (2015) "Extractive Sector Policymaking and Governance in Ghana: A Study of the Role, Knowledge and Capacity Challenges of Civil Society Organizations," *Journal of Public Management & Social Policy*: Vol. 21 : No. 1 , Article 4.

Available at: <http://digitalscholarship.tsu.edu/jpmsp/vol21/iss1/4>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Journals at Digital Scholarship @ Texas Southern University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Journal of Public Management & Social Policy by an authorized editor of Digital Scholarship @ Texas Southern University. For more information, please contact [rodriguezam@TSU.EDU](mailto:rodriguezam@TSU.EDU).

# Extractive Sector Policymaking and Governance in Ghana: A Study of the Role, Knowledge and Capacity Challenges of Civil Society Organizations

Emmanuel K. Sakyi  
University of Ghana

Emmanuel O. Oritsejafor  
North Carolina Central University

---

*This study describes and examines data on perceptions of role, capacity and knowledge challenges confronting civil society organizations (CSOs) in their attempt to influence extractive industry policymaking and governance in Ghana. Qualitative technique was employed in collecting data for the study. In all, twenty one CSOs were purposively selected and interviewed using issue-driven semi-structured interview technique. The findings of the study reveal that CSOs have good knowledge concerning policymaking and management issues in the extractive sector. It further indicates that Ghanaian CSOs had formed coalitions which gave them a better 'bargaining power' to be able to advocate for the ordinary citizen. In addition to these, it was found that the CSO community has progressed from a stage where they were marginalised by central government in policymaking to the current situation where they are regarded as major stakeholders in the policymaking process. The findings however, reveal that despite their increasing advocacy and governance roles, CSOs are faced with several difficulties which encumber their enhanced performance. The interviewees recommended that government should remove these obstacles if it is committed to improving extractive sector policymaking and governance in Ghana.*

---

The concept of civil society is not new. It has been debated within political and social theory for hundreds of years. What is new is the increasing emphasis on the concept over the last two decades especially within international development discourse. All manner of arguments have been made about the potential of 'civil society' and, specifically, 'civil society organisations' (CSOs) as actors in policymaking and implementation to achieve the goals of poverty

reduction. But how exactly do they do this? What is the proper role of CSOs in shaping pro-poor policy? How do they influence politics and pro-poor policy outcomes? A number of studies have attempted to address these questions (Howell and Pearce 2002).

Despite these efforts to research and analyse the role of CSOs in national and international development policymaking processes, the issues of capacity and knowledge and the ways it is impacting the overall performance of CSOs in policymaking has not been given the needed empirical attention particularly in developing countries including Ghana. Crucial questions such as: Does capacity issues affect CSOs' performance in shaping policy processes and policy advocacy and outcomes? Can improved capacity increase performance and the degree of influence CSOs bring to bear upon policy decisions? These questions and many others have not been empirically examined and thoroughly analysed. There is therefore a dearth of empirical research into these issues and their impact and implications for policymaking and governance. This paper is a modest attempt to help fill this gap; it aims to find answers to the above research questions with particular focus on the extractive industry sector policy governance experience in Ghana.

It is also important to mention here that, the empirical literature and analysis of the role of CSOs in policymaking and national development have often focused on the nature, structure, objectives and work of the organisations themselves or on CSOs relationship with central governments. This approach, though insightful, has the tendency to create difficulty for researchers in identifying factors that actually influence CSOs ability to impact policymaking and policy governance processes. For this reason, this diagnostic and exploratory study adopts a more pragmatic approach by concentrating on the ways capacity and knowledge issues are affecting CSOs' ability to influence policy governance processes with particular focus on Ghana's extractive industry sector.

## **Objectives of the study**

The objectives of the study are to:

- Examine capacity and knowledge issues confronting civil society organisations in influencing policymaking and extractive sector governance.
- Examine the role that capacity and knowledge plays in the range of CSO policy activities, including advocacy, stakeholder engagement, building partnerships and rapid policy response actions.

The study's argument is that: understanding the capacity and knowledge issues is very crucial for addressing critical questions and challenges facing Ghanaian CSOs in their attempt to influence policymaking and governance of the extractive sector.

## **Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical positions regarding the assumed role of CSOs in governance processes can be delineated along three lines of thought: The European view accentuates that civil society groups are incorporated in governance structures to provide a context for collective decision making and public policy formulation. The American school of thought, based on ideas about liberal democracy, suggests that voluntary and independent citizens associations are important with limiting state control and keeping it accountable and effective. And finally, in developing countries, the inclusion of civil society in governance reform processes provides a solution for staged development and fragile democracy (Suleiman 2013). Consequently, from the early 1980s until the 1990s, projects of staged development and

democracy tend to be intertwined with the good governance agenda of developing economies. This relationship between development and good governance also received impetus from social scientists such as Putnam (1993) who provided strong theoretical arguments for the inclusion of civil society in participatory governance processes.

In the case of Ghana, after two decade of political openness which has led to five successive national elections, there has been a proliferation of civic associations and advocacy groups involved in the political process. The outcome of this is a vibrant democratic life that has positioned CSOs in the forefront of the policy making process (Carbone 2012). Similarly, in South Africa, Calland and Nakhooda (2012) in their study of participatory democracy and energy policy formulation in South Africa, suggest that as a result of participatory democratic process CSOs played an integral role in the development of sustainable energy solutions to reduce future increases in its greenhouse gas emissions. They further posit that CSOs that have developed the strategic and technical capacity were able to effectively engage law makers in the policy process that led to the development of the Integrated Resource Plan 2 (IRP2).

Therefore, through participatory democracy, which calls for maximum citizen participation in self-governance across all sectors of society, work family, and associational life, along with government, CSOs are an important factor in self-governance which includes deliberation as well as making, carrying out, and monitoring policy decisions (Hildreth 2012).

The rest of the paper is divided into five sections. Section one reviews literature on issues of capacity and the role of CSOs in influencing policy; section two gives an overview of CSOs in Ghana; section three describes the method of data collection, section four presents the findings, and the last subsection summarises the study findings and conclusion.

### **Capacity Issues Relating to Policymaking**

Capacity is a very broad term, referring to the abilities of individuals and organizations to carry out their mandates according to stated objectives of the policy framers. Capacity is the ability of individuals, organizations and societies to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve goals (UNDP 2006). A similar instrumental view has been espoused by the World Bank (1983) which defines capacity as the ability to perform appropriate tasks effectively, efficiently and sustainably through the combination of human resources and institutions that permit countries to achieve their development goals. The emphasis here is on having certain levels of individual and institutional capability to bring about change. This is an instrumental view of capacity (Larbi 2006).

According to Batley and Larbi (2004), capacity refers to the factor that explains human performance within a given organizational framework and institutional environment. There are many dimensions to definitions of capacity, including financial, administrative and managerial, problem-solving, and technical skills. There are also internal and interactive capacities; the former refers to the ability to carry out management functions, while the latter refers to the ability to cooperate and coordinate in a network of state, civil society and private sector actors (Hilerbrand and Grindle 1995).

Capacity may also relate to the quality of personnel, and institutional structures, rules and procedures. In the context of implementation for this particular study, capacity is defined as the availability of a required number of staff with the appropriate skills to undertake a task and achieve goals set in a prior decision. The capacity of workforces of an organization has been identified as an important factor required for effective contribution to policy making and

policy implementation. This assertion is based on the fact that quantity and quality of human resource responsible for a particular organizational task, for example, a strategic policy, can increase or decrease the chances of effective implementation of the goals of the policy. It is in this connection that Goggin et al. (1990) observed that the higher the quantity and quality of personnel devoted to implementing a policy or program, the greater the likelihood of prompt implementation without modification. The World Bank (1983) has also emphasized the need to strengthen the capacity of public, private and civil society organizations responsible for policy formulation in order to enhance reform implementation and program sustainability. The primary research question asked here is: how does the capacity of district health management teams influence the implementation of health sector decentralization?

### **The Role of CSOs in Shaping Political and Socio-economic Development**

Civil society organizations (CSOs), as defined by the UNDP (2006), are non-state actors whose aims are neither to generate profits nor to seek governing power. CSOs unite people to advance shared goals and interests. Scholte (2004), viewing CSOs from a political perspective, defined it as a political space where voluntary associations seek, from outside political parties, to shape the rules that govern one or the other aspect of social life. Civil society groups bring citizens together non-coercively in deliberate attempts to mould the formal laws and informal norms that regulate social interaction. They have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, and are based on ethical, cultural, scientific, religious, or philanthropic considerations.

CSOs include nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), professional associations, foundations, independent research institutes, community-based organizations (CBOs), faith-based organizations, people's organizations, social movements, and labour unions. Theoretically, CSOs play significant roles in their respective nations. Based on existing literature on CSOs, these can be categorized into five main functions, which include the following.

CSOs provide the social framework within which democratic governance operates. It is trite to state that human beings by their nature are gregarious; they enjoy engaging in group activities, deliberate about matters of societal and public interest and, especially, about the way social affairs ought to be managed and governed. But it is pertinent to note that the mere existence of multiple organisations is not what strengthens democracy, it is the way in which these organisations promote and provide the framework within active participation occurs that really matters (Cohen and Arato 1992).

Another role of CSOs relates to the promotion of political accountability. Civil associations provide a bulwark against majority rule by advancing marginal issues and the diverse causes of minority groups. The strength of civil society is its vast number of grassroots associations that operate as social mechanisms to hold government accountable for policies that may only affect a minority of the population.

Similarly, CSOs produce and nurture social trust, reciprocity, and networks amongst members and communities. By and large, civic community constitutes one element of civil society: those horizontally structured organisations 'that are more or less mutual, cooperative, symmetrical, and trusting' (Diamond 1999). Such organisations which include everything from extended families and bowling clubs to religious communities and interest groups generate 'social capital', which consists of trust, reciprocity and networks that enable people to more easily solve collective action problems.

Quite apart from that, CSOs serve as a public battleground for cross-fertilisation of ideas aimed at enhancing the wellbeing of all members of the social group. While the emphasis is usually placed on the role of civil society in promoting liberal values, it is more akin to a public battleground of ideas (of which some are more liberal than others). One may argue plausibly, academics are increasingly returning to Gramsci's ambivalent characterisation of civil society as constituting an 'arena in which hegemonic ideas concerning the organisation of social and economic life are both established and contested' (Bebbington, Hickey, and Mitlin 2008). Civil society constitutes the space in which democratic alternatives are promoted, but it is also where unsavoury ideologies compete for public legitimacy.

CSOs also serve as vanguards in fighting the state for rights and citizenship. Essentially, civil society actors often assume responsibility either directly or indirectly in organising and mobilising grievances against the state. Within civil society, social movements and organisations may develop alliances with other groups to forge collective struggles featuring the language of rights (Foweraker and Landman 2000). Civil society actors demand that the state protect particular rights through guarantees of citizenship and these demands may proceed through legal channels or through civil (or uncivil) disobedience of the law.

Due to the important roles CSOs play in their respective societies and economies, they have been recognized as important actors in the policymaking process. In addition, CSOs are seen as very essential in promoting good governance; and as Kofi Annan once stated, "Good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development" (Gisselquist 2012). This underscores the importance of CSOs in policymaking, governance and poverty reduction.

In addition, there has been a heightening of CSO involvement in extractive sector policymaking and governance. The participation of civil society in the extractive industry sector transparency initiative has been on the increase. Also, CSOs have been uncovering the illegal activities of mining companies and various governments to aid improvement of extractive industry sector governance. Civil Society Organisations in African countries and particularly in Ghana have been major contributors to development. These organizations complement the effort of government in the area of offering social services because they tend to get far where government cannot go, and they are so much in touch with the people (Quachey 2001). Likewise, Dordonno (2008) observed that CSOs and churches role in policy formulation has been enhanced and their demands for good governance, transparency and accountability have also accentuated and this has caused public officials to respond to their demands. Consequently, this has caused public officials to respond to their demands in some instances.

### **Civil Society Organisations and policymaking in Ghana**

In the last ten years, and particularly perhaps since the 'battle of Seattle' in 1999, the issue of civil society participation in international and national affairs has attracted increasing policy and academic attention. Much of this attention has been drawn to the question of the institutional access and channels of participation in the design and execution of policies and programmes. The challenge is one that has faced both global and local institutions including those in the developing world. In developing African countries, civil society organizations have played an increasing role in demanding and ensuring improved governance and policymaking.

Particularly in Ghana, the CSO movement has increased its influence in the

formulation of public policy and economic governance over the last decade and half. This has expanded the space for popular participation in political governance and the expression of freedom. Central government and its development partners have also realized the need to strengthen CSOs' participation in economic governance, understood as an increasing demand for greater transparency and accountability from public officials in general and the government in particular. This effort has yielded significant results over time for example, briefing the press by the Communication Minister after Cabinet meetings, 'question time' in Parliament for Ministers to explain the rationale behind their policies and actions to the public.

In Ghana, a wide range of CSOs that have been particularly instrumental in informing the public on social, economic and governance issues through independent research, workshops/seminars and advocacy. These CSOs include groups such as Third World Network (TWN), WACAM, Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD), Institute of Democratic Governance (IDEG), Centre for Economic Policy Analysis (CEPA), Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII), ISODEC, Legal Resource Centre (LRC) and Private Enterprise Foundation (PEF). Although, CSOs' influence in the policy process in Ghana is increasing, their effective impact remains constrained by: (a) unclear responsibilities in economic management issues; (b) weak technical capacity needed to interpret economic policy; (c) absence of public forum for lobby/advocacy groups to input into the policymaking process; and, (d) dearth of information to be able to monitor implementation.

### Methods and data collection

Data for the study were collected through semi-structured interviews conducted with twenty one key informants from selected CSOs. The sample frame for the CSOs interviews comprised a list of Non-government Organizations obtained from the Coalition of NGOs in Forest and Natural Resource Conservation (Forest Watch); List of Members of the National Coalition on Mining (Twinning with Africa) and the Directory of the Ghana Association of Private Voluntary Organisations in Development (GAPVOD). The selection of the CSOs was based on stratification into activity areas, leading to a total of 21 interviews conducted through purposive sapling design (see Table 1 below).

**Table 1: Categorization of CSOs**

CSO Categories	Number of CSOs
Coalitions, Groups and Networks	4
Gender Organisations	4
National Resource and Extractive Sector Governance NGOs	7
Governance Anticorruption and Transparency NGOs	3
Umbrella Organisations	2
Extractive Industry Knowledge Centres	1

*Source: Interview Data, 2009*

### The Study Findings

The study assesses issues relating to capacities, performance and impacts of the CSOs in extractive policy and governance in Ghana. The singular but interrelated issue the study considered as a major indicator of the capacity of CSOs in extractive governance was their familiarity with mining sector policies and management, oil and gas sector management, and the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI) process. Also, CSOs knowledge in the goals and processes of, as well as the Ghana's status in the Extractive Industries

Transparency Initiative (an initiative to ensure transparency in the extractive sector) was used as a major indicator of CSOs capacity to effectively partner with Parliament. Other issues used to measure CSOs capacity in extractive governance were their knowledge of the legal issues (i.e. the status of the proposed oil bill); and their knowledge of the extraction and distribution of revenues in the extractive sector (this was restricted to mining since large scale production of oil and gas has not commenced).

The performance of CSOs in their oversight responsibilities was gauged in terms of their attempts at:

- Influencing the policymaking process in the Parliament to try to bring change in relation to the oil, gas or mining sector or implementation of the EITI process;
- Influencing the policymaking process to try to bring change in relation to the oil, gas or mining sector or implementation of the EITI process;
- Obtaining information from key actors in the extractive sector;
- Campaigning for improvement in the extractive governance; and
- Demanding greater oversight in extractive sector management from relevant government agencies.

### Knowledge of Extractive Industry Issues

Interviews first and foremost sought to establish CSOs knowledge base on management and governance issues in the extractive sector. CSOs interviewed revealed a very good knowledge in mining sector management. All interviewees were at least slightly aware of mining sector management and oil and gas sector management. 18 CSOs were at least familiar, (12 were familiar and 6 were very familiar) and only 3 were slightly aware of the issues.

**Table 2: CSOs familiarity with mining sector management issues**

Response	Frequency	(%)
Slightly aware	3	14
Familiar	12	57
Very familiar	6	29

*Source: Interview Data, 2009*

Data on CSOs familiarity with regards to oil and gas sector management also showed that 17 of them were at least familiar (14 were familiar and 3 were very familiar) and the remaining 4 were slightly aware. One CSO representative substantiated his point by stating that:

*“This organization is very familiar with mining sector management. Since the organizations inception in the early nineties, we have been involved in mining sector management issues especially in areas we operate” (WACAM 2009)*

The interviewee added that:

*“In fact it is through the effort of some pioneer organizations as us; that issues became clearer to the citizenry which made most other CSOs join the coalition” ”( WACAM 2009)*



This assertion was justified as most CSOs admitted that they acquired most of the knowledge they possess from the coalitions they had joined. Interviewees were assessed concerning their knowledge in oil and gas management issue. The results of this assessment are presented below in Table 3.

**Table 3: CSOs familiarity with Oil and gas sector management issues**

Response	Frequency	(%)
Slightly aware	4	19
Familiar	14	67
Very familiar	3	14

*Source: Interview Data, 2009*

Interviewees explained that oil and gas debates are quite new and therefore have generated a lot of public interest and created much awareness. This they said explains why a greater proportion was familiar and slightly aware. They further explained that in spite of the increased familiarity with the issues, there has not been much capacity development in the sector and only a few CSOs can claim to be very familiar with the issue. Mining on the other hand, they said, has been with the country for such a long time for people to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the main issues and become familiarized with the problems of mining sector management.

CSOs further revealed good knowledge of the debates in the oil and gas sector. This assessment showed that six (6) CSOs had excellent knowledge, five (5) had good knowledge and ten (10) had some knowledge on the debates in the oil and gas sector. All interviewees were knowledgeable of the need to develop an effective linkage of Ghana to the West African Gas Pipeline (17 CSOs); most interviewees (15 CSOs or 71%) were also cognizant of the structure and the roles of GNPC.

Another indicator used to assess the knowledge capacity of CSOs was their knowledge of the upstream functions of the Ghana National Petroleum Corporation (GNPC). The assessment showed that 5 CSOs had excellent knowledge, 6 had good knowledge, 8 had some knowledge, and 2 had little knowledge (were able to mention only one function). Most (18) of the CSOs could mention GNPC's exploratory and oil and gas development function. Another well-known function is GNPC's function as a major regulator of oil and gas sector and seeking to maximize the benefits to Ghana.

The study further evaluated the knowledge base of CSOs in terms of their awareness of an oil bill/law and its status. The evaluation revealed that 5 CSOs had at least good knowledge (3 had excellent knowledge, and 2 had good knowledge) and 7 had no knowledge on the issue. The remaining (9) only had some knowledge on the status of the oil bill; 8 of which added that there was a previous bill submitted to parliament which was later withdrawn. Another issue which some CSOs mentioned was that in 2008, the government convened a forum for the discussion of an Oil and Gas Policy.

### **Familiarity with EITI Process**

The Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI) has emerged as a very important governance issue in the extractive industry; and the study thus used it to assess interviewees' knowledge in governance issues in the extractive sector. This assessment revealed that 11 CSOs were at least familiar with the process whereas 7 others had no

knowledge of EITI or its validation process. The study however revealed that this is an improvement on the participation of CSOs in the EITI process. For instance an interviewee opined that:

*“This organisation is a major player in the EITI. We started with what we call ‘Publish What You Pay (PWYP)’ which led to the formation of the PWYP coalition and this coalition is the main CSO representative in the EITI. The PWYP coalition which had a handful of members at inception now has over 20 members.” (ISODEC 2009)*

Interviewees who admitted they had knowledge about the process attributed their increased awareness to the activities of PWYP Ghana as well as knowledge gained from their participation in EITI workshops.

CSOs knowledge on the goals and processes of the EITI was also assessed. This assessment revealed that 9 CSOs had at least good knowledge (7 had excellent and 2 had good knowledge), and 8 had no knowledge on the nation’s status. Most (12) interviewees mentioned that the EITI is a global standard for transparency; 7 of which added that EITI’s ultimate objective is to publish information on revenues.

Knowledge of Ghana’s status under the EITI was however not very encouraging. This is not surprising because as much as 14 CSOs were not at all knowledgeable in the issue and 6 had at least good knowledge. Also, when interviewees were asked about the benefits of publishing disaggregated data under the EITI, 10 exhibited at least good knowledge and 9 were not at all knowledgeable on the matter.

CSOs knowledge on the revenues in the extractive sector is another indicator of knowledge capacity and very relevant in CSO extractive industry revenue oversight issues. The survey specifically inquired about interviewees’ knowledge in the extraction and distribution of mining revenues. All interviewees possessed at least some knowledge with 10 having at least good knowledge of the subject matter.

Sources of Knowledge and Interaction with Stakeholders on Extractive Industry Issues

CSOs interviewed derived their information from various sources. All but 3 of the CSOs interviewed belonged to a coalition and they claimed they had been getting a lot of their information from the coalitions. Networks/Coalitions such as Publish What You Pay Ghana (PWYP), Forest Watch Ghana, Network for Women’s Right (NETRIGHT), and the National Coalition on Mining, organize regular meetings during which members share information and expertise. They also organize joint research and advocacy, the outcomes of which serve as a major source of knowledge to the members. Also members of a network such as Forest Watch (which is mainly concerned about the preservation and responsible consumption of forest resources) said they benefit from the knowledge and expertise of members who in addition to their work in the forests have also worked extensively in the extractives, such as Friends of the Earth. CSOs admitted that the media is their most important source of information and said that they will not be able to effectively carry out their missions without partnership from the media. Table 4 below shows the various sources of specialized knowledge identified by the CSOs.

Table 4: CSOs sources of specialized knowledge

Source	Frequency of Responses

Media	21
National NGOs	19
Internet sites	15
National academics and independent experts	14
Government information (Executive, Ministries, MPs)	12
Company reports	11
International organizations	8
Research on Communities	1
Workshops	1
Chamber of Mines	1

*Source: Interview Data, 2009*

As mentioned earlier, CSOs in their activities interact with several other agencies in raising concerns around the oil and gas as well as mining issues to the public sphere. The table below shows the actors CSOs interact with when raising these concerns.

**Table 5: CSOs interaction with other stakeholders**

	Never	Little	Some	Often	Weighted Score
Weight	0	1	2	3	
MPs	8	2	4	7	31
Other CSOs	8	0	4	9	35
Media	8		3	9	33
Parliamentary Staff	5	4	1	1	9
Affected Communities	8	0	1	12	37
Government Agencies			1	3	11

*Source: Survey data, 2009*

From the weighted scores it is clear that CSOs interviewed interact mostly with the communities (weighted score of 37) when it comes to raising concerns regarding the extractive industry. CSOs also have much interaction with other CSOs as they mostly belong to coalitions which normally work on these issues and raise awareness. Other CSOs there represent the second major group of actors which the CSOs interviewed interact with (weighted score of 35). The group of actors has interacted the least with them when raising these concerns is the parliamentary staff (weighted score of 9).

### **CSOs' performance and influence on policy making process**

The study further assessed the performance of CSOs in the extractive sector. The first indicator used to assess CSOs performance was to explore how their activities aimed at influencing parliamentary policy making process on EI issues.

This assessment revealed that:

- 6 CSOs had organised public hearings or initiated parliamentary consultations. For instance, TWN and WACAM indicated that NCOM which they are part initiated parliamentary consultations with parliament on the mining law; which they were actively involved. (Please see the paragraph that follows for further clarification).
- 10 CSOs had participated in other public hearings or parliamentary consultations. Some CSOs such as the Development Institute indicated that although it is part of NCOM, it only participates in public hearings once initiated by selected members.
- 6 CSOs had initiated specialized or enquired individual MPs.
- 1 CSO had sought to influence (lobby) the party leadership in parliamentary committees.
- 3 CSOs had sought to influence (lobby) parliamentary leadership on the floor of parliament.
- 9 CSOs had coordinated with MPs in their areas and affected communities.
- 3 CSOs had initiated consultations with political parties.
- 12 CSOs had developed joint strategies or activities with other CSOs and/ or media to influence MPs.

It was found that most CSOs who initiated some process in parliament coordinated with others because as one CSO put it “the most effective way to influence policy in government or parliament is to work in a group” (Third World Network 2009). This also explains the high number of CSOs who have participated (not initiated) in public hearings or parliamentary consultations. CSOs indicated that the coalition’s activities are mostly led by the host CSO (for instance ISODEC hosts PWYP, and TWN hosts NETWRIGHT and NCOM) who are normally helped by some delegated members. These selected members with the hosts initiate the parliamentary consultation and others attend the consultations once initiated. With parliament the CSOs indicated that they discussed:

- Mining and Minerals Act
- General Extractive Industry issues
- Illegalities and irregularities in the Mining Areas
- Human Right Abuses

Also there are some CSOs like CDD that already provide technical assistance to Parliament by preparing background papers and position papers for parliament on governance issues (including EI governance). However, CDD has not done much in terms of influencing parliament on EI issues. The interviewees indicated that CDD on few occasions provided technical support to the MPs through its involvement in NCOM’s activities.

Again, CSOs performance was assessed using their involvement in seeking to influence the policy making process in order to try to bring change in relations to the extractive sector or the implementation of the EITI process. It was revealed that 12 CSOs had participated in press conferences; issued media statements with other CSOs; gave media statements and shared information with journalists; and coordinated with other CSOs to share

information or organise joint action. In addition, 11 CSOs had organised press conferences themselves. From the interviews, the issues normally discussed during these occasions include:

- EITI Audit Reports
- Status of the freedom of information bill
- Benefits of mining
- General Extractive industry issues
- Irregularities and illegalities in the sector
- Welfare issues
- Environmental Impacts of mining

Again, the wide range of issues discussed exemplifies the vibrant/proactive nature of EI related CSOs in Ghana.

CSOs in their campaigns have been using various media forms especially the print media (opinion pieces and editorials) and the radio. The media type which is less frequently used is text messaging (2 CSOs). Issues published/broadcasted in the media included environmental issues and welfare issues in mining areas. Interviewees indicated that sometimes such publications/broadcasts coincide with some environmental activities and therefore the themes of such environmental activities/campaign are used.

Also in these matters CSOs publish issues based on their area of specialization or interest. The interviewee from CDD for instance indicated that “CDD is a governance and democracy institution so it is interested in governance issues in the extractive sector” CDD has also published some briefing papers on the oil and gas sector, for example, a briefing paper “The discovery of oil in Ghana – time for a reality check” by Kwadwo Mensah.

Since CSOs need information to be able to successfully execute their duties, the study made investigations into the sources of information and the availability of such information. Eleven (11) CSOs indicated that they mostly sought information from the chamber of mines and the local authorities (district assemblies). Mining companies also served as an avenue for seeking information for 10 CSOs. One information source which has not been very much utilized is the Executive (Presidents Office); only 1 CSO had ever sought information from this source. The sources of information provided by CSOs and the number of CSOs who have sought information from these sources are provided in the table below.

**Table 6: CSOs Sources of policy information**

Source	Number of CSOs
Chamber of Mines	11
Local Authorities (District Assemblies)	11
Mining Companies	10
Members of Parliament	9
Minerals Commission	9
Ministry of Energy	6
Ministry of Mines and Natural Resources	6
Other line Ministries	6
Executive	1

*Source: survey data, 2009*

From the ministries, the information sought is on policy issues, CSOs indicated that they normally seek information on the affected communities from the local authorities. Other issues sought from these agencies include information on:

- Human right abuses
- Environmental issues
- Status of the mining companies
- Legal issues
- Report from companies
- Law drafts

CSOs however indicated that obtaining information from these sources has not been easy. They further stressed that mostly using the right channels to obtain the information is difficult and they sometimes have to use 'unorthodox' means to obtain such information (such as personal influences, etc.) However the information once obtained has been useful in their activities.

Other line ministries CSOs had contacted included, Ministries of Defence, Interior, Attorney Generals and Ministry of Justice, and Social Welfare.

CSOs also indicated their engagement in active campaigns for specific reform to improve the management of extractive industries. Most (12) CSOs had actively campaigned to denounce abuses/environmental damage caused by mining companies on mining communities. Eleven (11) CSOs also indicated that they had campaigned for improvement in the reporting of collected tax/royalties from government officials and the campaign for the promotion of a greater redistribution of revenues for the population had been supported 11 CSOs. Though not very encouraging, 7 CSOs had campaigned for greater transparency in disclosure of contracts. This therefore shows a good number of CSOs with interests in oversight issues in the extractive sector.

The performance of their oversight roles was further assessed using their reported demands for oversight from the respective government authorities. CSOs however reported that they had not actively demanded greater oversight in the management of extractive industry from government entities. Only one reported that it had demanded oversight from the Auditor General. Five indicated that they had demanded the exercise of the oversight responsibility from the Commission of Human Rights and Administrative Justice but this has mostly being in the area of human rights.

### **Impact of CSO Activities on EI Policy and Governance**

The CSOs interviewed had different perceptions on current changes in EI governance. However five of them said not to have witnessed any substantive change in EI governance in the past year. One interviewee mentioned that he heard the government had secured support (funds) for some projects in the sector but couldn't mention any of such projects.

Four CSOs were also of the view that companies have responded to their increasing advocacy by being more responsive to mining communities and districts. The Director for WACAM for instance said that the government gave out mining concessions in forest reserves (leading to negative change in extractive governance). However, their advocacy and consultations has influenced the government to reduce the number of concessions in forest reserves from about twenty to three (20 to 3 Other changes in EI governance in the last year identified by CSOs include:

- Increased Transparency in EI Governance
- Measures to Maximize Welfare of Communities
- Mining in Forest Reserves
- Government is responding to the grievances of affected communities through
- Establishing commissions of enquiry to investigate the illegalities in the mining system.
- Establishing some standards to guide mining operations.
- The review of the mining law.

CSOs however, indicated that their ability to cause more changes is dependent on several factors. Most (9) CSOs mentioned access to information as very crucial to their ability to cause change. Another factor mentioned was the capacity of the CSOs (9 CSOs). Seven (7) CSOs also regarded funding as a very important factor. Other factors mentioned include:

- Conformity of CSO goals to goals of the government – 4 CSOs
- Lobbying and advocacy ability – 1 CSO
- Legitimacy of the CSOs (ability to represent the peoples' interest and get support from the people).

Capacity of the CSOs was assessed with regard to their participation in changes in governance as a result of CSO activities. An interesting find was that most CSOs interviewed, with the exception of two, tended to work more effectively in coalitions rather than by themselves.

Some coalitions working in the extractive sector the CSOs mentioned include:

- Network for Women's Right (NETRIGHT – Hosted by TWN)
- National Coalition on Mining (NCOM - Hosted by TWN)
- Publish what you Pay (Campaigning on EITI – led by ISODEC).

Some CSOs also indicated that though they have been part of the coalition's activities in causing change; they have individually undertaken some activities to bring about change.

CDD for instance opined that they have published briefing papers and critical perspectives on the oil and gas sector and were involved in some activities in getting a policy for the sector.

According to WACAM: "We believe in grassroots policy advocacy so in our sensitization we also identified the gaps in the law. For instance the PNDCL 153 (mining law) didn't have the compensation procedures so it was out of our activities that we realized this and it was incorporated in the new law. We are currently building advocacy along the right of citizens to say no to mining; though it is in the EPA law, it has not been implemented. So we learn from the communities the gaps so we can advance it further" (WACAM 2009).

Other CSOs (5) revealed that individually they have undertaken research, advocacy and created platforms for interface between the communities, the government and other institutions.

CSOs have also individually advocated for transparency and helped expose illegalities in mining areas.

### **CSOs Involvement in Other Policy Issues**

The findings are that CSOs in Ghana have their various areas of specialization. For example, four gender related CSOs interviewed noted that they had invested their time and resources in learning about gender issues. Particular mention was made of issues concerning

domestic violence, violence against women and the institution of counselling centres for women.

Other policy issues which the CSOs stated they had engaged in include: Polices on the timber and forestry industry with concentration on revenue, Timber plantation Act: Act 583 and Mining in Forest Reserves (Republic of Ghana 2000). Others Are Wildlife Policies, Oil Policy, EI Sector Policies in General, Africa Peer Review Mechanism, Anti-Corruption Policies, Privatisation of Water, Government Revenue, Trade Section, Policy on Incandescent Bulb, Environmental Conservation Policies, and Policy on the Disabled

All CSOs interviewed in their activities have been partnering with other CSOs and the media. Partnership with MPs has not been regular. This normally happens when there is a bill in Parliament and they need to have an input or when they provide technical and capacity support to Parliament. This happens normally when a bill (such as the mining bill) is to be debated in parliament and CSOs want to have an input into the bill. On other occasions training programmes are organized for selected MPs (for instance the national steering committee on GHEITI in collaboration with ISODEC and PWYP organized a workshop which the parliamentary select committee on mines and energy participated).

Most CSOs had made substantial impacts on the policies they have been involved in but in some cases, however, these impacts cannot be attributed to one CSO but a coalition of CSOs. Some policy impacts identified by CSOs include: Passage of Domestic Violence Bill; Involvement of Women in Key Positions in Government; Government's Decision to stop giving out concession in Forest Reserves to mining companies. First the companies wanting to mine in Forest reserves were about 20 but now it's left with about three; Causing government to delay the production of oil; Revision of mining law before its passage; Mining companies have increased their contribution to mining communities. The government changed its approach to water privatization; from an outright sale to management contracting, abolishing of the use of incandescent bulbs, the establishment of standards for some electrical appliances; and, the Policy to establish an agricultural fund and Passage of the disability law.

For instance WILDAF, a gender related NGO said "... the involvement of women in the top hierarchy of government was as a result of our continuous activities in the form of ministerial and parliamentary consultations and even sending position papers to the office of the president. In addition we had to use some international influence and this led to the increase in the number of women at the top echelons of government." (WILDAF 2009). They, in addition to other gender NGOs (Ark Foundation, WISE, GSDC) further said that the passage of the domestic violence bill was as a result of the efforts of the various gender NGOs and their coalition NETRIGHT.

CDD also said that they were instrumental in resuscitating the disability bill which had been dormant (in the Attorney General's office after the first draft was produced) for about three years. The indicated that they took it up in 2005, did extensive media coverage and covered some costs involved. The interviewee from CDD further commented that they did a lot of media campaign and worked with the federation of the disabled and this he said resulted in the passage of the bill in 2006. "Since then CDD has followed the implementation and the establishment of subsidiary legislation" (CDD 2008).

## Conclusion and Policy Lessons

Based on the findings of the study the following conclusions have been drawn:

Firstly, Civil Society Organizations in Ghana have been major contributors to



Ghana's policymaking and improved governance in the country. And, in accordance with literature, CSOs in Ghana have been major promoters of accountability, transparency and good governance. CSOs contribution in the mining sector has not been very different in this regard. CSOs are the major advocates for the people of Ghana especially in the area of human rights abuses as well as advocating increased benefits from extractive sector to the people.

Secondly, the level of knowledge and capacity of CSOs concerning mining sector management as well as oil and gas sector management is high and are a signal of the involvement of CSOs in EI governance in Ghana. Also, CSOs have been very active in advocacy and awareness creation activities ranging from interaction with local inhabitants of mining communities to the organization of press conferences to influence government and other stakeholders in the extractive sector. As part of their advocacy and education programmes, the CSOs reported and published several stories about the bad governance practices in the extractive industry, both in local, national and international media. The contribution of CSOs to governance in the extractive sector therefore cannot be overemphasized. Ghanaian CSOs are very effective because of partnership and coalitions they build with the media.

Despite the strides CSOs have made towards improving governance, they have also been faced with a myriad of problems. Prominent among these is the lack of technical expertise and resources. To minimise this problem, they often form coalitions to enable them to pull resources together for their advocacy and other purposes. Unavailability of much needed information is also a constraint. The CSOs also ascribed their inability to cause the necessary change to the constraint they face concerning the 'space' to operate. Access to finance has also been a major stumbling block to the effective functioning of CSOs in contemporary Ghana.

Overall, though CSOs have been performing creditably concerning their policy advocacy as well as awareness creation activities, they could perform better and make a significant impact in extractive governance if the above debilitating obstacles are siphoned out of their way. In the words of one interviewee: "it is government's responsibility to institute mechanisms to minimize the impact of these challenges and bolster the performance of CSOs in Ghana." This would, to a large extent, improve knowledge and capacity for policymaking and governance not only in the extractive sector but also in other sectors.

### **Author's Biography**

**Emmanuel Kojó Sakyi** is an Associate Professor of Public Administration and public policy. He received his PhD from The Manchester University, IDPM, UK. He was recently appointed as the new Rector of Ho Polytechnic, Ho, Volta Region, Ghana. His teaching and research interests are Public Administration and Public Policy. His research interest's focus on areas of policy design and implementation, public management and governance reforms in the public sector especially decentralization/privatization and organizational change and performance in the health and education sectors in developing African countries. He has taken part in various applied public policy and evaluation research projects and academic conferences. He has also served as consultant for the Government of Ghana and a number of national and international organizations like ECA, DANIDA, DFID, Revenue Watch Institute, UK, CDD-Ghana and IEA etc. He has published papers and served as external examiner for several Public/Private Ghanaian Universities and, served as a regular program assessor for the

National Accreditation Board. He has also served on the Editorial Boards of national and international academic Journals.

**Emmanuel O. Oritsejafor** is a Full-Professor of Political Science and public policy. He received his Ph.D. from Clark Atlanta University. His teaching and research interests are International Development Administration and Public Policy. He is the Department Chair of Public Administration at North Carolina Central University (NCCU). He has published numerous book chapters, and articles in journals: Third World Studies Journal, Journal of African Policy Studies, Journal of Public Management and Social Policy, Journal of College and Character, Journal of Global Competitiveness, and the Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa, The Encyclopedia of Public Administration and Public Policy Studies, the Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations, and The Journal of Pan African Studies, the African Social Science Review, the Liberian Studies Journal, the Journal of Commonwealth Youth and Development, and the Journal of safety and crisis Management.

## References

- Batley, Robert, and George A. Larbi. 2004. *The changing role of government: The reform of public services in developing countries*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bebbington, Anthony J., Samuel Hickey, and Diana C. Mitlin. 2008. *Can NGOs make a difference? The challenge of development alternatives*. London: Zed Books.
- Calland, Richard, and Smita Nakhoo, 2012. Participatory democracy meets the hard rock of energy policy: South Africa's national integrated resource plan. *Democratization* 19(5):912-931.
- Carbone, Giovanni, 2012. Do new democracies deliver social welfare? Political regimes and health policy in Ghana and Cameroon. *Democratization* 19(2):157-183.
- CDD-Ghana. 2009. Interview with project director.
- Center for Democratic Development. 2008. Averting the resource curse in Ghana: The need for accountability. *CDD Briefing* 9(3):1-59.
- Cohen, Jean, and Andrew Arato. 1992. *Civil society and political theory*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Diamond, Larry. 1999. *Developing democracy: Towards consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Dordonno, Cletus. 2008. Governance and Economic Management, in: Baffour Agyeman Duah, ed. *Ghana: Governance in the Fourth Republic*. Tema: Digibooks Ghana Ltd.
- Foweraker, Joe, and Todd Landman. 2000. *Citizenship rights and social movements: A comparative and statistical analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gisselquist, Rachel. 2012. What does good governance mean. United Nations University. [UNU.edu/publications/articles/what does governance mean](http://unu.edu/publications/articles/what_does_governance_mean) [Accessed March 28, 2015].
- Goggin, M.L., A. Bowman, J.P. Lester, and L.J. O'Toole. 1990. *Implementation theory and practice: Toward a third generation*. Glenview: Scott Foresman.
- Hildreth, Roudy W, 2012. Word and deed: A Deweyan integration of deliberative and participatory democracy. *New Political Science* 34(3):295-319.
- Hilerbrand, Mary E., and Merilee S. Grindle. 1995. Building sustainable capacity in the public sector: What can be done? *Public Administration and Development* 15(5):441-463.

- Howell, Jude, and Jenny Pearce. 2002. *Review of civil society and development: A critical exploration*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- ISODEC. 2009. Interview with EITI project director.
- Larbi, George A. 2006. Institutional constraints and capacity issues in decentralizing management in public services: The case of health in Ghana. *Journal of International Development* 11(2-3):154-163.
- NETRIGHT. 2009. Interview with executive director of NETRIGHT.
- Putnam, Robert, Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Nanetti. 1993. *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Quachey, Lucia. 2001. Case study: Ghana association of women entrepreneurs, Center for International Private Enterprise. Womens paper series No. 7 Washington DC.
- Republic of Ghana. 2000. *The forest plantation development fund act: Act 583*. Ghana: Tema Ghana Publishing House.
- Scholte, Jan Aart. 2004. Civil society and democratically accountable global governance. *Government and Opposition* 39(2):211-233.
- Suleiman, Lina, 2013. The NGOs and the grand illusions of development and democracy. *Voluntas* 24(1): 241-261.
- Third World Network. 2009. Interview with programme officer.
- UNDP. 2006. *UNDP and civil society organizations: A toolkit for strengthening partnerships*. New York, NY.
- WACAM. 2009. Interview with WACAM deputy director.
- WILDAF. 2009. Interview with chief executive of WILFAF.
- World Bank. 1983. *The world bank annual report 1983*. Washington, DC: World Bank.